5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chearaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

of this gallant village which should be preserved because of its anthropological value and, above all, for its human value:

1.—Return of the extensions of pasture land of which the villagers were deprived by the neighboring Aymara communities.

2.—Periodic visits of medical and sanitary personnel in order to care for the minimal necessities of vaccination, care of the sick and preventative services.

3.—Teaching material to aid in operation of the school.

4.—Agricultural tools and basic training in improved practices of agriculture and animal husbandry.

5.—Realization of a scientific study comparable to that done by Métraux thirty years ago, to be extended to the neighboring Aymara communities in order to determine the degree of influence which one town has had upon the other. Likewise, a detailed study of the remaining branches of ethnography and folklore of the Chipayas.

6.—A plan of archeological excavations on the site called Los Chapel five kilometers to the north-west of the town of Santa Ana de Chipaya, which appears to be the ancient residence of the Chipaya people, according to their own account, during the period in which they were still *chullpas*.

7.—The establishment of contact, for study purposes, with the Morato Indian group, apparently a sub-group of the Chipaya tribe, which at the present time, in reduced numbers, carries on a nomadic life in the territory to the south-west of the Chipaya and whose members speak a distinct language".

(From *Educación Boliviana*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 31-33).

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[13] north century. To reach them today, you travel by train from La Paz to the city of Oruro, then by car or bus to Corquoora de Carangas. From there you must walk across [33] a desert worthy of Siberia to the left bank of the Lauca River, where a canoe must be found for the crossing, before you go on to the village.

[14] Little is known of Chipaya history. It has been conjectured that they may be the descendants of one of the first groups to reach the American continent. They call [73] themselves the descendants of the *chullpas*, the ancient inhabitants of the area who, according to legend, hid themselves in reed baskets when the sun appeared for the first time.

[12] The *chullpas* are still in the neighborhood, silent communities resting in the square and houses they built long ago. The word *chullpa* is also used for the burial towers. The ghost villages of *chullpas*, their doorways invariably facing east, can be seen by travelers today. Modern Indians avoid them with superstitious dread. It is claimed [45] that the Chipayas are feared by the stronger Aymaras be- [82]

[Text continues on p. 20-B]
[p. 19-D]

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calling themselves "Pukina" or "Puquina," which agrees with the synonymy of Ehrenreich, Herrera, *et al.* The "Uruquillas" of the early chroniclers appears to have meant the Uru, but Chamberlain's "Urianyo" is the name of a society, not of the tribe, and is moreover an Aymará word.

Bertonio, a missionary of the late 16th century, gives the Aymará name, probably approximate, "Kiuchacunani—Big-browed [People], Nickname of the Pinquinos." Chamberlain notes the Quichua name for the Uru as *Tarascuro*, but Momi says their Quichua designation is Uruquilla. Paredes says the Aymára call the Uru "Chuncumuldanis" [etymologized by my interpreter as *lunku-mang'ani*, lit. "water-kaleido-eaters," i.e. eaters of the water-plants of the genera *Myriophyllum*, *Potamogeton*, *Cheiophora*, *Elodea*, and *Chara*] or "Chancu." The tradition was that their ancestors were brought from the Pacific coast by the great Colla or Aymára conqueror, Tarsilla, but the Aymára say that the "*achachila*" or place-deity of the Uru is the swamp itself, much as Mt. Illimani is the place-deity of the Aymára in its region. Neveu-Lemaire[6] says that the Uru were the group from whom the Inca exacted the famous tribute of lice.

Pomansky notes several place-names—Urubamba, Urupampa, Urmiri, Urucalla, Uru-Uru (Oruro), and others—which he believes incorporate the name Uru, but these are etymologizable in Aymará, in which language "uru" means "day," or according to some authorities "worm."[7] Polo suggests the implausible etymology from "uri" (Aymará "unaccompanied, brave"); but in the 17th century "uro" or "uru" seems to have been in current use in the sense of "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. A punning proverb, "De todos Uros ningun hombre esta seguro" ("No man is safe from an Uru Indian"), appears to testify to the treachery of an incompletely subjected minority.

Temperament. The temperament of the Uru has been spoken of in no very flattering terms by all who have known them. Acosta said that they were so brutish as not even to have considered themselves human: "los estos Uros son brutales que ellos mismos no se tienen por hombres." Garcilaso de la Vega called them "rudos y torpes," rude and stupid. Even the

[6] Neveu-Lemaire, *Les Lacs*, LX-LXI; this authority also says that the name of the Department of Oruro and its capital city in Bolivia comes from the subjunction "Uro-ero." Other authorities in this paragraph not heretofore listed: Arturo Posnansky, *Anthropologia y Sociologia de las Razas Interandinas y de las Regiones Adyacentes* (La Paz, 1937), p. 91; Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara*, 3di (Chuquisaca) [Vol.] 1 vols. 1612 Facsimile edition, J. Platzmann, Leipzig 1879] vol. 2, p. 356; Ramiro Matos, *Diccionario Quechua* (Cuzco, 1940); Rigoberto Paredes, *Mitos, Supersticiones y Supervivencias Populares de Bolivia*, 2nd ed. (La Paz, 1936), p. 23.

[7] In connection with the meaning "day" see the myth in Métraux [*JAFL* 27: 366 f.

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sympathetic. Bertonio lists the Uru in his vocabulary as "Un lucion de indios despreciados entre todos . . . y de menos entendimiento." Paredes calls them "brutish . . . despicables, de poco entendimiento, áspero y silencioso." The Belgian traveller Wolle says of them, "The face is lifeless and without expression; it betrays hardly a sign of intelligence." Pentecostly writes:

El Uru no tiene glacieres, duermen sobre el junco. La vida jamás asoma a las brisas de su alma inmóvil, sin la menor sintesis, tostado por el sol y petrificado por el viento glacial. Hasta sus ritos son pusilánimes, apáticos y tristes, acurrucados y mudos. . . . Todo el aspecto de los Uros es el de un pueblo amordazado.

Whereas preferred their conquerors, the Chipaya, to them as being less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than their neighbors:

The Uru have a character and a genius as useless as the Aymara. The stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold, even a slightly hostile welcome on their part. To this thrill is added the unhealthy capacity of the Aymara and the Bolivians, and finally the apathy and heaviness of spirit which renders the altiplano Indian so downright hateful. . . . The last thirty Uru of the Desaguadero rival each other in hostility and distrust before even well-intentioned strangers, and it is scarcely pleasant to sojourn among them.

The present writer, however, after months of field-work with the Aymára, found the Uru vastly more sympathetic than the former truculent, hate-filled group. In my original field notes I have accounted the Uru a "cordial and smiling people . . . rather more vivacious and handsome than the Aymára."*

History. Of the history of the Uru almost nothing is known. Their only tradition is that they have lived in their present home immemorially but have been progressively despoiled of their lands by the Aymára. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century states that those on the islands in Lake Titicaca had, against their will, been removed to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and in holes in the ground covered with reeds. Throughout their history the Uru appear to have been a steadily and rapidly disappearing minority group, subject in turn to the Aymára, Inca, and Spanish.

Language. I did not live with the Uru long enough to learn the language in any sense, or even to control the phonemic system. The utter independ-

* J. de Acosta, *Historia de los Indios* (1590), p. 62. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 7, p. 6. Bertonio, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 380. Paul Wolle, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914, tr. Bernard Miall). Pentecostly, *op. cit.*, p. 66. Métraux (*BAAP* 17), p. 69; (20), p. 207.